1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pʌ'Tʌ.n tʌ.upə"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[a] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gəc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (ʌ'"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi'"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomn) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta'"cak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tʌ'lmu also served as food.

[a] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'en peti''li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba''lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (mues''gau nu''ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

291 Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
[462] was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

IMPLEMENTS OF WOOD.

411 The Washo have a number of implements of wood. Of these perhaps the most important are the bow (halo'hat), and arrow (mŏckit'sat), just referred to. At present only the simplest wooden [182] bow such as that shown in plate VI, fig. 2, is to be found. Formerly, however, a sinew-backed bow with strongly curved ends was used. One such bow was seen in possession of a white resident near Gardnerville, Nevada, who had secured it about twenty years ago from an old Washo. It was about the same length as the common wooden bow of the present day, and was strongly reinforced with sinew applied longitudinally and glued to the back or outer, rounded surface of the bow so as to form a coating from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness.

As above mentioned, the arrows are sometimes provided with small points (matca'tî) of chipped flint or obsidian. Such an arrow was formerly used for hunting large game and for war purposes. Usually, though not always, it is provided with a foreshaft into which the head is bound with sinew, this foreshaft being itself bound with sinew to the main shaft. The rear of the shaft is provided with three fairly ample, carefully trimmed feathers, bound to it with sinew. These have a slight twist which gives the arrow a rotary motion. The notch is rather shallow. The arrows shown in this plate average about thirty-two inches in length.

• [237] The quiver (it'patsû), shown in fig. 1 of this plate, is made of dressed deer skin with the hair inside and is said to be typical of aboriginal days.

412 Of common utensils of wood the flat-bladed mush paddle (ka'as), and the looped stirring stick (pelé'yû), are still used. These are shown in plate V, figs. 4 and 3, respectively. The latter is employed especially for removing partly cooled stones from the baskets of piñon or other mush, while the former is employed for stirring in general. The usual wooden tongs are used for lifting these hot rocks from the fire, and a common stick is used as a poker, and is called tsû'hû. This simple implement is shown in plate V, fig. 1.

[P. 368, A]

539 smoke, like I told you yesterday. He was up in the pine-nut hills and he had killed four chipmunks. One of those fellas come along and he snatched up a chipmunk and he ate it. Then he snatched another and ate it. He tried to grab another but the old man wrestled with him and stopped him from getting the chipmunk and then he got away. He tussled with that wild man and got away. But a long time after when he was real old and went around with a long stick [staff], he went out walking and he didn't come back. They went out looking for him and found his tracks leading up the foot of Job's Peak and they ended there. His stick was stuck in the ground and at the end of his tracks it looked like something had snatched him up."

When I asked if the wild man had gotten him my informant said he thought so. The theme of a wild man's attempting to take part of a catch from a Washo recalls the myth as reported by Lowie, although in the version he recorded the incident occurred between Wadsworth and Sparks and the final battle took place at Walker Lake, whereas my informant changed the locale to the Carson Valley area.

[513] [237] 2. "My old grandfather had this happen to him. He was hunting up by the Lake [Tahoe]. In them days hunters just carried little thin rabbit skin blankets. They covered up their front and put their back to the fire. My old grandfather was just laying there when he noticed the fire going down [maybe that wild man did something to the fire]. Pretty soon he saw a big shadow. He was pretty scared and just laid there. Pretty soon he felt a hand feeling his feet and in between his toes and up his leg and all around his hole [anus]. Pretty soon it reached his face and tried to put his finger in my grandfather's mouth. My grandfather bit that finger real hard and the wild man yelled and ran away."

I asked if the wild man still existed and my informant replied: "Sure. They are up there in the mountains. They are pretty smart and you can't see them. But us Washo can hear them talking. We can understand their language. I have thought a lot about it and they should have called some Washo over to Oroville when they caught that fella over there. I read about it in the newspaper when I was younger. I know they had a lot of them California Indians come up there but they couldn't understand him. I'll bet a Washo could have understood him." I asked if he thought it had been a wild man and he nodded in affirmation.

The "wild man" of course was the now-famous Ishi, the last of the Southern Yana who wandered half starved into a slaughterhouse in Oroville in 1911.

773 **THE COYOTE AND OTHER FIGURES**

Washo myths contain a number of tales about a bumbling, not very bright, generally malevolent Coyote, who as a companion of Wolf seems to devote a great deal of time to eating Indians and to sexual misadventures.

4/Downs F-6 (for Amer) 1961 HTH Washo HTH

[P. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(1940-1941)

758 [192] The Washo word da'maan'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (1941-90) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Both persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town maybe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then maybe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."

For more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's. 756 115 and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisti- [871] cated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), [237] consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in
Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility
[648] or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain
dances" on their property in return for handouts of
food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because
white men were the victims of the fraud it was con-
sidered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[231] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231)
[437] The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers
were extremely valuable and could be traded for any-
thing including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour
or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up
until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doc-
tor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and
released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description
of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped
[231] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic
times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One
old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept
them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such
experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers
were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but
still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by
chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked
up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather
suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders'
describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually
from the upper arms and thighs of particularly power-
ful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable
of handling the immense power, are made of eagle
feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but
nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Mer-
riam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to
have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
[756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power
of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette
casually during conversation. In prewhite times the
tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the
shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced
the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed
delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as
[795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly
Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote
ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragrant smoke which is considered bene-

[P.393, A]

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[756]
[182]

One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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[276]
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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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[648]

Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law [538] who remembered the antelope songs.

[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as [624] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered [791] to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. [533] I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which [186] believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually [114] considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 [237] Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that [484] in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken [535] from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 224 There was, however, a special leader who directed 624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack 791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (tabs) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Helmet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebits¢t) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadps).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (d¢gikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (k¢tip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets. [412]
   a. New born infant type.
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus). [415]
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul).
9. Spoon (itdamkut). [226]
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbays¢gi).
2. Arrows (m¢skisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely mimimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow. 291 [778]

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet." 175 291 [481]

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark." [481]

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (ti¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe. 513 237

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a magu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

1/2 [See end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupa. A single t¢l¢lupa was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tish¢shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbays¢gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (d¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowl) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

PLATE IV 1-1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

237
513

291

c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

[End Plate IV]

1-1 [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individaully or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 301 237

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	To	Kl	Kp	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
1322. Necklaces (tärekiapo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or betä)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidoma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1328. Animal claws	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1330. Wildcat	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1331. Animal teeth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1332. Deerclaws (takaroma or tomitsä)	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1333. Charred pine seeds	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1336a. Cane tubes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Yale	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339. Animal fur	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339a. Mouse	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1340. Beads	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1341. Hoofs	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1342. Bones	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1343a. Quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: narrow	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1348. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1351. Hair	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Stick	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1358. Charcoal	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1359. Soot (atsatsiga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oropi)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (puitsätsiga)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1365. Specularite (tsäkopi) (galena?)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+

NWA 291

NWA [321]

NWA 302 286

NWA [783]

[p. 391]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[a] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[b] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[c] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[a] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[b] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[c] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.